/208 cont./

342 361 Permanent dwellings are not as necessary as the yurt for the Kirghiz /Kazak/. Only climatic conditions force him to change from yurt life to a winter camp. The life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ in the winter quarters is not even life, but more a kind of vegetation since it is usually linked with great constraint, discomfort, shortages, and unpleasantness. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ himself regards his life in the winter quarters as a temporary and sadly necessary interval in his life.

On the other hand, these dwellings deserve attention as one of the links establishing the transition of the nomad to sedentary life. The winter quarters are the kernel of modern Kirghiz /Kazak/ land ownership and land use.

In these "kstau," the winter dwellings of the Kirghiz /Kazak/, one can see the most varied structures, depending on the climatic, natural, and historical conditions of the region, and also on the 184 economic status of the owner. In the mountains of the southern 342 Altai and Tarbagatai, the winter camps of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ are constructed of stone and wood and are located in the valleys and hollows of the mountains. In the southern steppe strip (without forest), the winter quarters are built of turf, and in the northern wooded strip they are more often of wood and less frequently of turf.

We shall describe the winter camps of the last two types, as they are the most widespread.

361 231 Just as sedentary peoples choose for their settlements places that offer the greatest comforts and conveniences for their life, so the Kirghiz /Kazak/ winter quarters are situated primarily in places favorable for the maintenance of livestock, the main source of the people's life. With this in view the winter quarters are located at the foot of mountains, on the banks of rivers and lakes, or on the edges of forests, i.e., in places where the livestock can obtain fodder most easily in winter. Such places are therefore not grazed in summer, so that the grass can be [342] saved for the winter. In the kstau one is struck first of all by the close connection of the human dwelling with the livestock quarters, and the absence of a regular arrangement of buildings. 342 The walls of the living quarters are made of layers of sod up one

/208 cont./

342 arshin and more in thickness. Above these walls there is a row of wooden beams, on which several crossbeams are fastened to support the ceiling. The latter is made of /209/ brushwood, reeds, and grass, and layers of sod are put on it. The kstau have no roofs. A small door is made in the wall facing the yard. On the opposite side one or two insignificant windows are fashioned -- or more precisely holes with only glass or a bladder stretched [354] over them (1). The building is divided into two halves; the

1. In summer the window frames with the glass or the bladders are usually taken out and stored somewhere to avoid loss or breakage.

front one is the dirtier one in which the stove is placed (usually an unbaked brick one, consisting of two enclosures, in one of which the kettle /kazan/ is set, while the other is used for baking baursaki, melting tallow, etc.). The young rams and calves, 342 the harness of the horses, and piles of other farm equipment are 353 also kept in this half. The back half (two to three sagenes long), 352 two sagenes wide, and 1 sagene high) is almost filled with bunks [231] on which the Kirghiz /Kazak/ eat and sleep. Stakes are driven into the walls, and clothing, the best harness, felt, etc. are 342 hung on them. At night the mud hut is lighted by a tallow candle [354] /sal'nik/ (a wick with sheep tallow in a cup). From all that has been said of the winter quarters, /illustration appears here/ one can imagine the kind of crowdedness, dirt, and suffocating heat [184] the Kirghiz /Kazak/ have to endure in winter. In general the [556] winter quarters of the richer Kirghiz /Kazak/ in localities without forests differ little from the one described, except that they are cleaner.

343 Close to his own quarters the Kirghiz /Kazak/ builds stalls for the sheep, which have the same structure as the dwelling, except that they lack windows and an oven. In addition two other sod structures are built, one on the order of a storehouse, 000 and the other for the dzhetak laborers. Then there are lighter

351 /209 cont./ Then there are lighter structures, which constitute the actual yard of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ house. The yard is enclosed by a bulwark of earth, dung, reeds, etc. Poles, whose one end is propped against it, are fastened at the other end either to special supports or also to the bulwark. On top of these poles a reed roof is arranged over the entire yard. A roof is necessary in the winter quarters on the steppe because of the frequent winds and snowstorms. Inside, the yard is broken up into sev-
[231] eral parts, of which /210/ the warmest are given to the small animals and cattle and those less warm to the horses.

361 The general impression made by the steppe winter-quarters is

[342] [346]

Steppe winter-quarters and mosque of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ clan of the Tuz on the Emba River.

negative. In appearance it is a cluster of closely joined mud huts
[132] surrounded by dung. In view of the frequent snowstorms, however, the proximity of the buildings is very convenient for the steppe population.

184 342 35 The winter camps of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ in forested localities have more comforts. The living quarters consist of a small hut with a small window and door, a floor, and a ceiling, although it, too, often lacks a roof. Most of the living space is taken up with bunks, covered with felt, mats, rugs, and cushions. Under the bunks, chests and other practical articles are placed. The oven, too, is of a more
184 modern type, more beautiful than convenient. The average middle-
343 class Kirghiz /Kazak/ has separate quarters in the courtyard, called

184 343 /210 cont./
"chuchela," for the cooking of meat and for the laborers. This is a cupola-shaped, half-sod and half-felt structure, dirty and cold.
184 251 231 361 The yard of the forest winter-quarters is not as cramped as on the steppe. Here only a shelter of sod for the sheep is made beside the house, while the other animals are wintered in reed or wattled shelters /prigon/ built somewhere deep in the woods. Thus the appearance of the forest kstau reminds one somewhat of a Russian village.

184 342 231 Among the southern (Chu and other) Kirghiz /Kazak/, along with the mud-hut winter quarters, yurts are put up in the midst of reeds, with sod and snow laid around them. Simple fences of reeds and saxaul /saksaul/ are made for the livestock. Among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ of the southern Altai and the Tarbagatai mountains, the winter quarters are built of stone and wood. Sod buildings are rarer. No buildings are made for the livestock at all, and they are kept in valleys and hollows sheltered from the wind.

291 The clothing of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ is quite varied. Among the men the underclothing consists of one long wide shirt ("kuylyuk") of calico or, more rarely, of linen, and short wide trousers ("dambaly") of grey or colored material. Over this they wear a long wool coat, or among the rich a silk one, always with designs or embroidery, and wide trousers or "shelbary" of cotton material, sometimes of tanned leather. Above this they wear a beshmet -- a broad coat of colored material or embroidered, sometimes of camel's hair, made at home. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ wears an "arakchin" on his head, and above this a round cap called "bork." He wears wide leather boots with high wooden heels, called "santama," on his feet. His light footgear, called "ichigi" (boots of soft leather, without heels), is always worn with overshoes. He uses a wide calico band as a belt or else a leather "kse." The latter consists of a narrow strap, ornamented on the outside with metal plates, or with silver plates among the rich. From this strap there usually hangs a small bag, in which they used to keep tinder and flint and now put cheese, "kurt," for the road, also a sheath for a knife (which is now used in eating meat) and a powder horn (empty). These supplementary pieces are also adorned with metal plates on the outside. In the winter the

/214 cont./

567 who were the servants or the suite with which eminent sultans and entire rich clans surrounded themselves, constituted a special kind of voluntary slavery. These people considered themselves independent of their patrons, but their long residence with the latter gave the patrons cause to declare their rights over them, as over slaves. The misunderstandings with the Tiulengut and [175] the hard position of the kul continued until 1859, when, on the proposal of the Governor General of Western Siberia, the sultans, biy, and elders of all the okrugs decided to free their slaves. From this time on the latter became free Kirghiz /Kazak/. According to the official figures, 400 persons were freed in the Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk oblasts, but this number is far below the actual number of former slaves.

566 But if official slavery has disappeared among the Kirghiz /Kazak/, it continues to exist in fact in a no less onerous form of economic slavery -- bondedness. In many nomadic villages one may meet poor Kirghiz /Kazak/ -- dzhetak (lying down, i.e., without livestock /215/ for a nomadic life) -- who live in the position of a worker without hours or pay for rich Kirghiz /Kazak/. Their position is extremely hard. They do every kind of work for a piece of bread and pitiful old clothes. They have no hopes of somehow working it out and saving in order to begin an independent life, since the master always considers the dzhetak a [184] debtor, although the debts are usually fictitious. This system is especially noticeable among the Irtysh Kirghiz /Kazak/. In every Kazak /Cossack/ settlement one can find dzhetak seeking shelter among the mud huts and stalls in the Kazak /Cossack/ yards and leading a pitiful life. For this the dzhetak usually does all the farm work for the Kazak /Cossack/ and often binds himself and his family. In the best cases he receives five to ten [434] rubles for the winter.

423 Economic inequality has long existed among the Kirghiz /Kazak/, being conditioned to a considerable degree by the abnormality of the forms of land ownership. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ own lands by the right of seizure established by customary law. /Illustration appears here./ A great inequality

S 563 K 342 of stable construction. The common people build their winter tents with walls of interwoven twigs, sun-dried bricks and mud or soil filled with roots of grass. The winter quarters of the wealthy are of wood or stone. The common tent has but one room, shared by the family and their animals. The rich have K [556] [184] numerous outbuildings, corrals for the different kinds of animals, storage places for the hay, and even stables.

The settled Kazakhs are those who have, for economic reasons, K [361] adopted the sedentary life of the farmer. Usually too poor to own animals or the equipment to move around, they stay in one place for harvesting and making hay. They live the year around in the same sturdy tent, adding an inner-lining of felt for protection from the winter winds.

b. Food

S 563 K 262 [171] [272] The diet of the people is the same as that of the New Uighurs. They are meat-eaters, though the very poor cannot afford to have it often. Their special festival dish is horse-meat sausage. Their specialties for entertaining are fermented mare's milk, horse-meat sausage and pilav. Brick tea is used in quantities. Their pilav differs from that of the New Uighurs in that they substitute dried apricots and dates for onion, garlic and carrots.

c. Clothing

S 563 K 291 [171] [556] Both men and women dress like the New Uighurs except for color. The men's inner garments are white, red or purple, and their cotton outer robes are black. Women usually dress in white or black. Instead of a cotton sash, a man wears a leather belt. A rich man's belt is ornamented with stones, coral, silver or gold. Accessories such as a knife and a leather pouch are hung on the belt. Instead of a hat, married women wear long turbans of cotton print. After she has been married for a couple of years, a woman's colorful turban is taken down by her mother-in-law and replaced by a white one. This act indicates that the K [885] young woman has earned a more important position in the family, and corresponds to the "coming of age" of New Uighur wives. Young Kazakh girls wear their hair braided like their New Uighur sisters.

3. Social values, customs and etiquette

S 563 K 769 171 Traditions and customs of the Kazakhs are almost the same as those practiced by the New Uighurs. Funerals and wedding ceremonies are the same except that the Kazakhs celebrate the anniversary of a death with a big festival, like a birthday or a wedding, whereas the New Uighurs commemorate the occasion only with prayer. On this day the close friends, relatives and family members of a deceased Kazakh bring their own tents and food to the graveyard. The host provides food and drink. There are games and races, singing and dancing.

000 One custom peculiar to the Kazakhs involves stealing. The